

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

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AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 LOURENCO MARQUES 201

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, EAID, MZ

SUBJECT: MAJOR ADDRESS ON DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY BY

FRELIMO PRIME MINISTER OF MOZAMBIQUE

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REF: (A) LOURENCO MARQUES 832; (B) LOURENCO MARQUES 809

SUMMARY: PRIME MINISTER OF MOZAMBIQUE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT (MTG), JOAQUIM CHISSANO, MADE WIDE-RANGING SPEECH ON FEBRUARY 16 AT FRELIMO'S PLENARY MOCUBA MEETING, BILLED AS MOST IMPORTANT SINCE FRELIMO'S SECOND PARTY CONGRESS IN 1968. MAJOR THRUST WAS OVERRIDING IMPORTANCE OF FRELIMO'S EFFORTS TO COMSOLIDATE ITS POLITICAL POWER WITHIN MOZAMBIQUE WITHOUT WHICH "ANY ECONOMIC ADVANCE WOULD BE ILLUSORY". SECOND MAJOR THEME WAS DANGER OF "IMPERIALIST" SUBVERSION OF THESE EFFORTS FROM WITHIN AND FROM OUTSIDE. ON DOMESTIC FRONT, CHISSANO MADE CLEAR THAT FRELIMO INTENDS TO INTRODUCE A "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY" TYPE OF GOVERNMENT IN MOZAMBIQUE WHICH WILL BECOME INDEPENDENT ON JUNE 25. AS PRIME MINISTER OF TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT, CHISSANO CLARIFIED VARIOUS ASPECTS OF MOZAMBIQUE'S EVOLVING FOREIGN RELATIONS WITH FRATERNAL (OAU) AFRICAN COUNTRIES, WITH FRELIMO'S "TRADITIONAL SOCIALIST ALLIES", WITH OTHER FRIENDLY COUNTRIES (READ SWEDEN, HOLLAND, ETC.), WITH WHITE-RULED SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA, AND WITH THE "IMPERIALIST" COUNTRIES (RECENTLY ENEMIES. RE SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA, CHISSANO LIMITED SELF TO OFFERING "POLITICAL AND MORAL SUPPORT" FOR AFRICAN LIBERATION BUT SAID FRELIMO POLICY CONTINUES TO BE ONE OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES. RE "IMPERIALIST" COUNTRIES, CHISSANO WARNED AGAINST DANGERS OF SUBVERSION AND SAID FRELIMO IN ITS CONTACTS WITH THESE COUNTRIES HAD ASSURED THEM THAT "COOPERATION (READ "FOREIGN AID") WILL BE BASED ON THE SAFEGUARDING OF OUR INDEPENDENCE". CHISSANO'S SPEECH WAS LENGTHY AND FULL OF JARGON INTENDED FOR PARTY FAITHFUL AND HIS FULL STATEMENT APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN SPARSELY REPORTED BY FOREIGN WIRE SERVICES. WE ARE THEREFORE REPORTING SALIENT POINTS BY TELEGRAM, WITH COMMENTS. FULL TEXT OF SPEECH BEING POUCHED.

FOLLOWING ARE SALIENT QUOTATIONS FROM SPEECH AND OUR COMMENTS:

1. DOMESTIC AFFAIRS.

(A) ENEMIES: QUOTE ENEMY IS USING MORE SUBTLE TACTICS FOR FORM OF EXPLOITATION OF MAN BY MAN AND OF OPPRESSION LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OF MOZAMBIKAN PEOPLE...MANEUVERS OF CERTAIN GROUPS DOING EVERYTHING TO CREATE DISORDER, INSECURITY AND PANIC. THESE MANEUVERS HAVE BEEN SYSTEMATICALLY DESTROYED...BY MOZAMBIKAN PEOPLE UNDER GUIDANCE OF FRELIMO. ENEMY ACTS NOT ONLY THROUGH ARMED AGGRESSION BUT THROUGH SPECULATION IN FOODSTUFFS AND OTHER BASIC PRODUCTS... VARIOUS FORMS OF ECONOMIC SABOTAGE, INCLUDING SCORCED-EARTH ACTS. IN LOGIC OF THIS ACTIVITY, AFTER DIRECT ECONOMIC ASSAULT ON OUR COUNTRY, ENEMY WILL TRY

TO LEAD US INTO HIDEOUS NEOCOLONIALIST SITUATION. HE HAS ALREADY STARTED INFILTRATING AGENTS IN OUR "GRUPOS DINAMIZADORES"...UNQUOTE.

COMMENT: WHILE FRELIMO LEADERS GIVE EVERY INDICATION OF BEING FAR MORE CONFIDENT THAT THEY CANNOT BE OUSTED FROM POLITICAL POWER, THEY SEEM TO BE WORRIED ABOUT LACK OF SUFFICIENT CONTROL OVER ECONOMY AND DANGER OF FACTIONALISM WITHIN RAPIDLY EXPANDING PARTY. THEIR RESPONSE TO THESE WORRIES IS ALREADY TAKING SHAPE IN FORM HARSH NEW ECONOMIC CONTROL LAW (BEING POUCHED) AND HINTS OF PARTY PURGE OF "OPPORTUNISTS". NEO-COLONIALISTS" IN THIS CONTEXT ARE PRESUMABLY PORTUGUESE.

(B) BOOTSTRAP EFFORTS: QUOTE IT WILL NOT BE THROUGH FALSE DEMANDS INSTIGATED BY THE GREEDY NOR THROUGH IMPERIALIST CHARITY, ALWAYS BLOODTHIRSTY, THAT WE WILL RAISE OUR STANDARD OF LIVING. IT WILL ONLY BE THROUGH DETERMINED STRUGGLE...UNQUOTE.

COMMENT: WHEN AAI DIRECTOR WILLIAM COTTER SAW FRELIMO LEADERS FEW WEEKS AGO, HE TOLD ME THAT HE HAD NEVER SEEN A GROUP OF MEN MORE MILITANTLY CONVINCED THEY HAD ALL THE ANSWERS NOR MORE DETERMINED TO AVOID MORTGAGING THEIR INDEPENDENCE.

(C) TRANSFER OF POLITICAL POWER TO PEOPLE: QUOTE...ESSENTIAL TASK AT MOMENT IS TOTAL TRANSFER OF POLITICAL POWER TO THE PEOPLE... WHICH IS OF HIGHEST IMPORTANCE IN OUR REVOLUTION... WITHOUT POLITICAL POWER... ANY BENEFIT WILL ALWAYS BE ILLUSORY AND THE PEOPLE WILL REMAIN EXPLOITED. UNQUOTE.

COMMENT: THIS HAS BEEN FRELIMO'S CONSISTENT PREOCCUPATION SINCE THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT TOOK OVER IN SEPTEMBER 1974.

(D) DEFINITION OF DEMOCRACY: QUOTE WHEN WE SPEAK OF PEOPLE'S LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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DEMOCRACY WITHIN FRELIMO DISCIPLINE, IT IS CONTRARY TO ALL ANARCHY AND IDEOLOGICAL LIBERALISM. WE SPEAK OF DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM...DEMOCRACY FOR US IS PARTY DISCIPLINE...AND REALIZATION OF NATIONAL OBJECTIVES. UNQUOTE.

COMMENT: CHISSANO MUST HAVE DISPELLED ANY ILLUSION ANYONE (READ PORTUGUESE SETTLERS IN PARTICULAR) MAY HAVE HAD AS TO WHAT FORM OF GOVERNMENT FRELIMO WOULD ADOPT. NEVERTHELESS, ONE SUBJECT HE COMPLETELY AVOIDED WAS QUESTION OF NATIONALIZATION OF PRIVATE INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE. WE HAVE CONTINUING INDICATIONS THAT FRELIMO INTENDS TO PURSUE A PRAGMATIC COURSE AND NOT NATIONALIZE FOR THE SAKE OF DOCTRINE. IT IS INTERESTING, HOWEVER, THAT FRELIMO'S POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY COMES ACROSS AS CLOSER TO THAT OF THE EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES THAN TO NYERERE'S "AFRICAN SOLIALISM".

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INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

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2. FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

(A) IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES: QUOTE THERE ARE IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES
TRYING TO PENETRATE MOZAMBIQUE TO GIVE IT ULTIMATE BLOW:

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NEOCOLONIALIST INFILTRATIONGM WE HAVE TO DEFINE OUR POSITION IN RELATION TO IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES. WE HAVE TO DEFINE OUR POSITION TO THE PEOPLE STILL STRUGGLING,SUCH AS IN VIETNAM, INDOCHINA, AND IN MIDDLE EAST AGAINST THESE SAME IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES.

COMMENT: CHISSANO IS SAYING THAT MOZAMBIQUE WILL ADOPT MILITANTLY "NON-ALIGNED" (READ ANTI-WESTERN) STANCE ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES. REFERENCES TO VIETNAM, ETC., CLEARLY IDENTIFIES U.S. ATTITUDE OF FRELIMO IN THIS AND OTHER RESPECTS IS SOMEWHAT SIMILAR TO THAT OF FLN WHEN ALGERIA WON ITS INDEPENDENCE.

(B) SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA: QUOTE WE HAVE ON OUR BORDER COUNTRIES WHICH ARE HOSTILE TO MOZAMBIQUE... RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICAN COUNTRIES WHICH STILL DEFEND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND DOMINATE AND OPPRESS OUR BROTHERS... WE HAVE OBLIGATIONS TOWARD OUR BROTHERS...FRELIMO'S FOREIGN POLICY HAS BEEN THAT OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES. BUT...IN THIS NON-INTERFERENCE POLICY WE DO NOT CONCEDE A CENTIMETER OF OUR REVOLUTIONARY LINE IN EXCHANGE. WE HAVE ALWAYS DECLARED OURSELVES AGAINST APARTHEID AND RESERVE TO THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA RIGHT TO FIGHT AGAINST APARTHEID...WE RESERVE RIGHT SOLELY TO THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE...TO FIGHT AGAINST MINORITY REGIME IN POWER IN RHODESIA. WE AFFIRM OUR POLITICAL AND MORAL SUPPORT TO THESE PEOPLES FIGHTING FOR THEIR FREEDOM. IMPERIALISTS ARE ALREADY HURRYING TO SAY THAT THERE ARE CHANGES IN FRELIMO'S POLICY. THERE ARE NONE* THESE WERE ALWAYS AND SHALL BE FRELIMO'S POLICIES. UNQUOTE.

COMMENT: DESPITE GREAT DEAL OF PROTESTATION OF AFRICAN SOLIDARITY, CHISSANO DID NOT MENTION MATERIAL SUPPORT TO BLACK AFRICAN POPULATIONS OF SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA AND HE REITERATED POLICY OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS. HE SEEMED TO BE ANSWERING FOREIGN SPECULATION THAT THERE WERE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN HIM AND THE FRELIMO LEADERS IN DAR-ES-SALAAM.

(C) "DIFFERENT INTENTIONS" OF FOREIGN DELEGATIONS IN MOZAMBIQUE: QUOTE WE HAVE AT THIS MOMENT THREE GROUPS OF VISITORS:
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OUR NATURAL ALLIES...EAST GERMANY...AND BULGARIA... AND ALSO

UN DELEGATION. WE HAVE ALSO HAD IN PAST OTHER DELEGATIONS VISITING US: INDIVIDUALS, COMPANIES, DELEGATIONS OF COUNTRIES WHICH RECENTLY WERE OUR ENEMIES AND COME TO ASK US FOR COOPERATION. WE HAVE GUIDED OUR CONTACTS WITH THESE COUNTRIES BY OUR PRINCIPLES, MAKING THEM UNDERSTAND THAT WE DID NOT MAKE WAR FOR WAR'S SAKE BUT FTR OUR LIBERATION AND THAT OUR COOPERATION WILL BE BASED ON THE SAFEGUARDING OF OUR INDEPENDENCE. UNQUOTE.

COMMENT: CHISSANO'S REMARKS IMPLY THAT, WHILE FRELIMO LEADERS ARE NOW MORE CONFIDENT THAT THE "IMPERIALISTS", INCLUDING THE U.S., ARE NOT OUT TO THWART INDEPENDENCE UNDER THEIR LEADERSHIP, THEY HARBOR FEAR OF THE DANGER OF "NEOCOLONIALISM" (I.E., POLITICAL INTERFERENCE AND ECONOMIC OVER-DEPENDENCE ON THE MAJOR WESTERN POWERS). CURIOUSLY, IN THE ENTIRE SPEECH THERE IS NOT A SINGLE REFERENCE TO PORTUGAL WHICH IS PROBABLY CONSIDERED UNDER THE CATEGORY OF "OTHER FRIENDLY COUNTRIES" BUT NOT VERY IMPORTANTLY.
WALKER

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